

Message Text

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 VIENNA 02552 01 OF 02 291736 Z

46

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-09 H-02 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-14 MBFR-03

GAC-01 OMB-01 TRSE-00 IO-12 SAJ-01 EB-11 COME-00

NIC-01 STR-08 CIEP-02 RSR-01 /120 W
----- 055504

R 291507 Z MAR 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8257

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

USMISSION BERLIN

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION OECD PARIS

USIA WASHDC

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 2552

E. O. 11652: N/ A

TAGS: PGOV, FOR, E. G. ETRD

SUBJ: CHANCELLOR KREISKY SPEECH

REF VIENNA 2358, HELSINKI 0779

1. THERE FOLLOW SIGNIFICANT EXCERPTS FROM THE SPEECH
DELIVERED BY CHANCELLOR KREISKY BEFORE THE AMERICAN
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE IN VIENNA ON MARCH 22, 1973 (FULL
TEXT NOT AVAILABLE). TRANSLATION IS UNOFFICIAL.

UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 VIENNA 02552 01 OF 02 291736 Z

2. QUOTE NOW I SHOULD LIKE TO BECOME SERIOUS AND TO SAY VERY OPENLY THAT MY PERSONAL ATTITUDE TOWARD THE UNITED STATES HAS NOT ALWAYS AND EVERYWHERE MET WITH THE UNDERSTANDING OF SOME OF MY REAL POLITICAL FRIENDS ABROAD, PARTICULARLY DURING THE PAST FEW YEARS. ONCE IN A LITTLE RESTAURANT IN PARIS I TRIED TO EXPLAIN TO MY YOUNGER FRIEND OLAF PALME WHY THERE ARE ALSO CATEGORIES IN POLITICS OTHER THAN THOSE WHICH HE WOULD LIKE BEST TO SEE, BEING A SOBER ANALYST, WHY THINGS ARE MORE COMPLICATED FOR US AUSTRIANS, WHY WE CANNOT JUDGE AS LIGHTLY AS MANY OTHERS THE POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES. AND I TRIED TO EXPLAIN TO HIM WHAT AMERICA AND THE POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES MEANT FOR AUSTRIA AFTER 1945. I TRIED TO EXPLAIN TO HIM THAT AMERICAN POLICY WAS FOR US OF EXTREME IMPORTANCE, AND THAT ANY CHANGE, ANY TURN, ANY MODIFICATION IN AMERICAN POLICY WAS FOLLOWED BY US WITH THE GREATEST ATTENTION. WE HAVE THE IMPRESSION, AND RIGHTLY SO, THAT THE PHRASE " TUA RES AGITUR" APPLIES TO US, OUR CAUSE IS INDEED AFFECTED BY AMERICAN POLICY. IN 1945 WE REGAINED OUR FREEDOM AND OUR INDEPENDENCE THROUGH THE ENGAGEMENT OF AMERICAN TROOPS. AND IT IS SIMPLY UNTHINKABLE THAT AN AUSTRIAN, WHO KNOWS ALL THESE THINGS, SHOULD JUDGE LIGHTLY MILITARY ENGAGEMENTS UNDERTAKEN BY THE UNITED STATES ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD. WE OWE OUR EXISTENCE TO THE AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, THE POLICY OF CONTAINMENT. I AM NOT (ONLY) SAYING THIS HERE TODAY, BUT I HAVE ALSO SAID SO IN WARSAW AND IN BUDAPEST AND IN THE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES. THE AMERICAN POLICY OF CONTAINMENT, WHICH HAD THE PURPOSE OF CHECKING THE EXPANSION ORIGINATING FROM THE SOVIET UNION, WHICH HAD TO BE TAKEN VERY SERIOUSLY AT THE TIME, LED TO THE EVENTUAL COMING INTO BEING OF A STATE OF BALANCE IN THE WORLD AND IN EUROPE, AND OUT OF THIS STATE OF BALANCE WE AUSTRIANS OBTAINED OUR GENUINE AND TRUE LIBERATION, NAMELY THE STATE TREATY. WITHOUT THIS POLICY OF CONTAINMENT, AND THIS IS MY FIRM BELIEF, THE AUSTRIAN STATE TREATY WOULD NEVER HAVE COME INTO BEING. WHAT THEN ARE, WHAT THEN WERE, THE GREAT POLITICAL, FOREIGN POLICY MILESTONES OF THIS POLICY? I SHOULD LIKE TO ENUMERATE THEM MERELY BY WAY OF DEMONSTRATION AND NOT EXHAUSTIVELY. FIRST OF ALL, THAT IT WAS POSSIBLE, WHETHER OR NOT MANY WANT IT TO BE TRUE NOW, FOR YUGOSLAVIA TO WITHDRAW FROM THE BLOC TO WHICH IT HAD BELONGED DURING THE WAR AND AFTER THE WAR,

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PAGE 03 VIENNA 02552 01 OF 02 291736 Z

WITHOUT A REACTION BEING TRIGGERED OFF AS WE EXPERIENCED

LATER IN HUNGARY AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA. NO DOUBT, THE POLICY OF CONTAINMENT HERE ACHIEVED ITS FIRST GREAT SUCCESS. A SECOND EXAMPLE WHICH WAS EVEN MORE CRUCIAL FOR US: THE MARSHALL PLAN WAS FOR OUR ECONOMIC COMEBACK OF ESSENTIAL IMPORTANCE. THAT IT COULD BE CARRIED OUT, THAT IT WAS THE PRECONDITION FOR THE MATERIAL BASES OF A NEWLY DEVELOPING EUROPEAN DEMOCRACY, THAT IS WITHOUT DOUBT DUE TO AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. THAT BERLIN DID NOT FALL AFTER THE

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PAGE 01 VIENNA 02552 02 OF 02 291743 Z

46

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NIC-01 STR-08 CIEP-02 RSR-01 /120 W

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R 291507 Z MAR 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8258

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

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UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 2 VIENNA 2552

BLOCKADE IS A FURTHER PROOF, AND I COULD MENTION OTHER EXAMPLES POINT FOR POINT, AND AT THE END OF THIS POLICY THERE WAS THE AUSTRIAN STATE TREATY. I WAS PRESENT MYSELF

WHEN FEDERAL CHANCELLOR RAAB - I BELIEVE I WAS
ALREADY FOREIGN MINISTER AT THE TIME - ASKED MR. KHRUSHCHEV
THE QUESTION AT THE KREMLIN IN MOSCOW, THAT IS AFTER WE
ALREADY HAD THE STATE TREATY. WHAT HAD ACTUALLY MOTIVATED
THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT TO GIVE US THE STATE TREATY?
MR. KHRUSHCHEV REPLIED THAT, AFTER HAVING THOUGHT THE
MATTER OVER IN THEIR COUNCIL, THEY HAD ARRIVED AT THE
CONCLUSION THAT THINGS IN THE WORLD HAD DEVELOPED IN SUCH
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PAGE 02 VIENNA 02552 02 OF 02 291743 Z

A WAY THAT ONE SHOULD TAKE A STEP TOWARDS PEACE AT THAT
TIME. AND WHILE REVIEWING THE OPEN QUESTIONS THEY
ARRIVED AT THE OPINION THAT THEY WOULD - ACCORDING TO
MR. KHRUSHCHEV - DEMONSTRATE THE PEACEFUL INTENTIONS OF
THE SOVIET UNION THROUGH THE EXAMPLE OF AUSTRIA. THUS
AN AUSTRIAN GOVERNMENT DELEGATION WAS INVITED TO
MOSCOW TO DISCUSS THE PRECONDITIONS FOR THE CONCLUSION OF
THE STATE TREATY. I REITERATE - IT WAS THE POLICY OF
CONTAINMENT AND ITS SUCCESS WHICH MADE IT APPEAR REA-
SONABLE FOR THAT I SHOULD LIKE TO SAY IN CONCLUSION NOW -
TO GET OUT OF THIS DEADLOCK, AND IT WANTED TO PROVE THIS
BY WAY OF AN EXAMPLE WHICH WAS THE LEAST EXPENSIVE TO IT,
AND THAT WAS AUSTRIA. ONE KNEW BOTH SIDES WOULD HAVE TO
WITHDRAW THEN. IT WAS SOMEHOW NOT A DIPLOMATIC DEFEAT
WHICH RESULTED THEREFROM. AND SO WE AUSTRIANS OWE -
I AM SAYING THIS WITHOUT EQUIVOCATION - (SEVERAL WORDS
MISSING HERE) HAS TO FULFILL A VALUABLE FUNCTION,
NAMELY, TO PROMOTE, IF I MAY USE THIS FASHIONABLE WORD,
THE RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES WITH AUSTRIA IN THE
ECONOMIC FIELD. YOU MAY BE SURE THAT THIS PROMOTION WILL
NOT ONLY BEAR GOOD FRUIT ECONOMICALLY, BUT WILL ALSO BE
A VALUABLE AND ESSENTIAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE IMPROVEMENT
AND INTENSIFICATION OF AMERICAN- AUSTRIAN RELATIONS. END
QUOTE

3. THE CHANCELLOR REPEATED HIS GOVERNMENT'S POLICY OF
WELCOME TO AMERICAN INVESTMENT IN AUSTRIA. HE CATALOGUED
SOME OF THE BENEFITS TO AUSTRIA OF A GREATER U. S. COM-
MERCIAL PRESENCE AND IN PARTICULAR LAUDED THE POTENTIALLY
IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION OF THE SOON- TO- BE- ESTABLISHED U. S.
EAST- WEST TRADE CENTER IN VIENNA. HE SAID THE CENTER WOULD
NOT ONLY ENHANCE AUSTRIA'S POSITION AS MEDIATOR BETWEEN
EAST AND WEST BUT WOULD ALSO UNDERPIN EFFORTS TOWARD
GREATER DETENTE BETWEEN THE CAPITALIST AND SOCIALIST
COUNTRIES. ON BILATERAL TRADE MATTERS, KREISKY DEPLORED
THE LOW LEVEL OF U. S.- AUSTRIAN TRADE AND
COMPARED IT UNFAVORABLY TO THAT BETWEEN THE U. S. AND
OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES (E. G. BELGIUM, HOLLAND, SWITZER-
LAND) OF COMPARABLE SIZE. HE PROMISED HIS GOVERNMENT'S

SUPPORT FOR AN IMPROVEMENT IN THE SITUATION.

4. FINALLY, HE TOUCHED ON FEARS EXPRESSED IN SOME
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PAGE 03 VIENNA 02552 02 OF 02 291743 Z

QUARTERS THAT S SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT IN AUSTRIA MIGHT BE
TEMPTED TO EXPAND THE NATIONALIZED INDUSTRY SECTOR OF
THE ECONOMY. TO THIS HE SAID QUOTE AM I TO TELL YOU
THAT WE HAVE NO INTENTION OF TAKING ANY CONFISCATORY
MEASURES? YOU KNOW PERFECTLY WELL THAT WE HAVE NO SUCH
INTENTIONS. AM I TO TELL YOU THAT WE HAVE NO INTENTION
OF HAMPERING YOUR ACTIVITY BY A RIGOROUS TAX POLICY --
IF YOU FORGIVE THIS BRIEF EXCURSION INTO DOMESTIC
POLICY? YOU ACTUALLY KNOW THE ANSWER TO THIS QUESTION,
TOO. END QUOTE. HUMES

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